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ming pool. At about this time Fred went blind and his leg got much worse. I have no account of the actual doctoring when the diagnosis was made but all informants I spoke with agreed that losing the second bullet had caused these ailments.

When people who are known to have power subsequently suffer from some sickness, the explanation given is apt to be in terms of their power, unless they have been involved in some feud which would suggest sorcery or have had some experience which seems to indicate "ghosting." The case of Sarah has already been mentioned. Her arm swelled up; and when Dr. Thomas worked on her he stated that the swelling was caused by her own power which was angry because she had treated a sty in Jerry J.'s eye without first receiving proper pay. Mrs. Parker's sore arm was likewise attributed to failure to obey her power which demanded that she sing hymns on Sunday. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to J. Smith's long illness, which finally ended in his death, which he explained in terms of his own power. There are more cases of this kind reported than of any other type of illness. Nowadays when bullet proof power is of little value one of the few ways it manifests itself to the community is as a cause of the possessor's illness.

The stealing of breath by ghosts, the second explanation for sickness, is usually diagnosed when the patient reports that he feels faint or when he is unconscious or delirious. These symptoms are believed to indicate loss of breath. This diagnosis is also made when people are elderly. The reason given is that aged patients have many friends and relatives in the land of the dead who desire their company and therefore steal their breaths. It is thought to be dangerous to think of deceased persons, for this may have the effect of summoning them. Finally, the doctor is likely to diagnose "ghosting" if the patient reports bad dreams, particularly if they are about dead people.

It has been noted that when Dick Jonas was a young man his illnesses were never attributed to ghosts, but that twice after his sixtieth year such an explanation was given. In both the latter cases the ghost was identified as that of his deceased wife. In both instances the symptoms were faintness and delirium as well as old age.

Ellen was the person who suffered most frequently from "ghosting" during my stay at Burns. She was about seventy-six at the time and was living with her son, her daughter-in-law and her thirteen grandchildren. The conditions in the household were very bad. Her son was a dipsomaniac and could not keep a job. His wife and the older girls went out and did housework whenever they had the opportunity, which left Ellen the responsibility of taking care of all the younger children and particularly the two children that were mental defectives. In spite of all the work she had to do and the acute poverty which surrounded her, Ellen was one of the most cheerful and good-natured of the Paiutes. She was one of the few people who seemed to get on with all her neighbors and who was genuinely liked and admired by all. This was probably due in great part to the role Captain Harry, her deceased husband, had played in the community. As a young boy he had been captured by the

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Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T. tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way, but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his personality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to, but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation centering around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter, Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka te gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

578 754 756 I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not [158] have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

754 155 828 From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men [157] or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

[579] The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study.[1] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[2] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[3] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

[1] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[2] See Appendix III for statistics.

[3] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[4] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[5] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring ... in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy.[a]

That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals.[b] Except when persistently

[a] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[b] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.